1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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those of a remote rural dweller whose social objects are all unique and known by their individual characters. So, if it can be shown that *los correctos* tend to reject traditional magical ways of curing disease, for instance, and accept instead the ways of modern life, it might be that such a change be not entirely due to the prestige of city cures but due also to a general tendency to solve problems by means wherein the mechanisms involved are understood.

In the second place, the diffusion is not merely the borrowing of ethnological traits, because the diffusion is accompanied by a change in the attitude which the people have toward themselves. The just-preceding chapter suggests that a study of diffusion here is not merely enumerating elements of culture which the group has or has not, but also involves a consideration of striking changes in the type of personality to be expected in the group. The sensitiveness, pride, and zeal for reform which characterize the individual described in that chapter are perhaps traits that typify the culture of his group (*los correctos*), but they were not borrowed from the city. They are changes which have resulted in him out of the conflict between the two cultures in which, mentally, he is living at the same time. The way a people feel about themselves and about other people is a datum which may be included in a direct study, such as this might be, of the culture process.

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In anger Tepoztecans frequently throw stones at an offending person or animal. If a man is not pleased with his food he may throw it to the ground. Some women throw household objects in a fit of temper. Small children express rage in temper tantrums; and fighting among children, particularly boys, sometimes occurs in the absence of adults. Assault and murder also occur from time to time.

Fighting or attack is rarely the result of a direct challenge but may occur if two enemies meet when drunk or when one is ambushed by another. There is no tradition of giving warning or a "sporting chance"; rather, the victim is generally taken unaware, preferably under cover of darkness. A man may be beaten, shot, or fiercely slashed with a machete. Often the aggressor hits and runs without pausing to ascertain the condition of the victim. Several men, principally *políticos,* bear scars from such attacks. Men in positions of wealth, power, or authority habitually carry a gun for protection and prefer not to venture out at night. The authorities generally are unable to apprehend the culprit, who flees the village for a time.

Viewed historically, revolutions, civil wars, and political upheavals have offered a major outlet for direct aggression. It must be noted, however, that militarism and the glorification of the soldier are not Tepoztecan ideals. The history of the Revolution of 1910-20 in Tepoztlán reveals much bickering and feuds and a great deal of killing for reasons of envy and the seeking of power. Tepoztecan generals and other leaders were killed by jealous rivals within their own ranks as much as in battle.

How do Tepoztecans seek security in this environment? Security is sought first and foremost through the economic independence of the biological family. Work, industry, and thrift, for the purpose of accumulating property in land and animals, are the highest, most enduring values in Tepoztlán. To be able to provide the family with food, clothing, and shelter is the only real assurance against want or interference. To many, hard work becomes an end in itself. So long as a man devotes his time and powers to work, he feels secure and blameless; he judges his worth by the amount of his labors, rather than by what he produces. Thus, Tepoztecans frequently say that all is well even though they eat only *tortilla con sal.*

The absolute emphasis upon the need to work and the brutalizing, isolating nature of the farmer's work have far-reaching effects on his personality and his relations with others. One of these effects is to make him an individualist with faith in his own power alone and with reluctance to seek or give economic aid, to borrow or lend, or to cooperate with others in public and private enterprises.

On the other hand, economic independence and individualism do not preclude certain loyalties, identifications, and reciprocities with others, but rather make these imperative for survival. Loyalty and cooperation within the biological family is a necessary adjunct to individual independence. Without a family to back him up, the individual stands unprotected and isolated, a prey to every form of aggression, exploitation, and humiliation known in Tepoztlán. The fate of lone widows and of orphaned or fatherless children is generally a sad one, even when the extended family offers help. Although the role of the extended family in protect-

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842 Abor-
[847] tion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women take medicine to make themselves sterile.

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife [593] relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking [586] medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel [582] ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure [581] from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who be- [851] come more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a [562] child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de* [843] *familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecan homes, in which the burden of the [462] care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given [594] as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

842 Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results ● 155 in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecan girls grow up in an atmosphere 864 in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reenforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

842 *PREGNANCY*

[195] The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child."
[843] Sterility (*yomitztili*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,[2] and massages
[171]

[2] Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.* p. 181.

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20 *general observations on the life cycle:*

121 THE QUESTIONS with which we are here concerned are as follows: (1) What, in summary, are the general qualities of inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán? In other words, what is the Tepoztecan social character? (2) How are the adult attitudes and value systems of Tepoztecans reflected in child training patterns? (3) To what extent does the training of children in Tepoztlán prepare them for adult life? (4) What are the conflict points and inconsistencies in this culture, and how do they affect the lives of men and women?

157 [181] As we have seen, Tepoztecans value hard work, thrift, practicality, restraint, submission to authority, and the ability to conform. In inter-personal relations, Tepoztecans are detached, individualistic, and sensitive to status differences, with a generalized readiness to be suspicious, negativistic, and even hostile. Gossip, complaint, envy, and criticism are common. Tepoztecans are a constricted people, as seen in their lack of warmth and limited expression of affection, in their attitudes toward sex, and in their general absence of self-expression. Fantasy, imagination, and creativity are at a minimum; although Tepoztecans are turned within themselves, they are not dreamers. They are an indirect people; they frequently rely upon the use of intermediaries and upon formality. Deception also is a sanctioned form of indirection, and the direct expression of aggression is strongly discouraged. Competition between individuals is rare. When competition occurs, it is between groups, thereby giving it a quality of impersonality. Finally, the aspiration level of most Tepoztecans does not place an undue burden on them and does not lead to any marked anxiety.

155 The patterns of child training in Tepoztlán reflect many of the attitudes and value systems noted above. One of the underlying principles in child rearing is to develop children who are easy to control. Submissiveness, quietness, passivity, and dependence are all encouraged; activity, aggression, demanding, self-gratification, curiosity, and independence are discouraged. This is manifested in the long nursing period, in swaddling and restricting the movements of the child, in the belief that the child must not cry, in the absence of preoccupation with training the child to walk, talk, eat alone, and develop sphincter control.

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The great amount of attention given the infant is primarily for the purpose of limiting and protecting him rather than stimulating him. He is not allowed to explore the world about him, to crawl, to touch many objects, and, when older, to ask too many questions. In general, much concern is felt for the safety of the infant, and the belief that infants are delicate is amply reinforced by the high mortality rate. Most infants wear several amulets to ward off illness, the sleeping child's face is covered to protect him from *los aires*, visitors are not encouraged to look at or hold the infant, and children are not taken out into the street more than is necessary.

The same basic principles apply in the training of children from about two to five, with emphasis upon obedience and respect for elders. After a rather abrupt weaning, the child becomes dependent upon older brothers and sisters, or a mother substitute. The illnesses which generally accompany weaning are interpreted to mean that the child is jealous of the new baby, reflecting the sibling rivalry found in many families. Children of this age are usually required to play within the patio; it is not uncommon to see children of three or four being carried, and many are not yet toilet trained. Children are controlled by means of scolding, frightening, shaming, and physical punishment. On the other hand, the young child, especially a boy or a favorite, is indulged in some ways, permitting a greater amount of ego development. Temper tantrums, whims, and complaints against older siblings are often rewarded by adults. After age five, responsibility and work are gradually increased, generally in proportion to the age and physical strength of the child. From this time on, through youth and even marriage, as long as the child lives under the parental roof, he is dependent upon the parents and subject to their authority.

By and large, this type of child training adequately prepares children for adult life in this community. But there are some points of conflict and inconsistencies between theory and practice in the culture. Perhaps the primary area of conflict is in the roles of men and women and in the relations between the sexes. On the whole, men are under much greater pressure than women; they experience more discontinuity in the transition from childhood to adulthood and more contradiction between their ideal and actual social roles. Although boys are more favored than girls and have in general, more opportunities for ego development, their early training is not conducive to the development of inner strength and ability to dominate, which are required by the ideals of a patriarchal society. We have seen that frequently husbands are only nominally the head of the household, and that they rely upon fear to maintain authority. As men grow older, and as their sexual powers and ability to work decline, their position of dominance is more difficult to maintain. Furthermore, their older wives and grown-up children are more independent and not so easily controlled, and older men receive little social recognition and have little power in the community. It is interesting to note that in regard to favored position, the life cycle of men and women takes an opposite course: Men in early life are in a comparatively favored position, but as they grow older they are weighed down by life situations; women begin with less freedom, lower aspiration levels, and earlier

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155 183 562 responsibilities, but as they mature after marriage they slowly gain more freedom and often take a dominating position in the household.

183 562 831 155 One of the discontinuities in the life of men is found in connection with sex. Although sexuality is inhibited all through childhood, young men are subjected to pressure from members of their age group to be sexually active. To have many sweethearts and sexual affairs before and after marriage is expected and admired. In practice, however, relatively few men in Tepoztlán achieve the reputation of being *muy macho*. On the contrary, boys are often timid in courtship and in many cases are initiated in their first sex experience by older girls or women. In the case of women, there is much less inconsistency between childhood training and acceptable adult behavior. Girls are expected to be ignorant of sex before marriage and to behave with fidelity and restraint after marriage. Girls and women who have illicit sexual relations are considered "bad" or "crazy." Women tend to express rebellion and dissatisfaction with their situation by taking a lover. In effect, then, while the sex activity of men is an expression of manliness, in women it is a form of delinquency.

183 562 571 155 Still another discrepancy between theory and practice in Tepoztecan society is that, despite the greater freedom of men and their higher social status, it is the women who have greater opportunities for social life and appear to be better socialized. Women visit with neighbors and relatives more than men. Their daily trips to the plaza offer an occasion for gossip and news. They attend church more often. This greater socialization begins early in life. While the girls take care of their brothers and sisters, the young boys are out in the fields caring for the animals. Men spend most of their days alone at their work in the fields. Occasions for communal work are few and are almost always accompanied by drinking. Men do not seem to be at ease in groups, unless they are fortified by alcohol.

121 ## *OBSERVATIONS ON THE CULTURE-PERSONALITY PROBLEM*

We come now to the broad problem of the relationship between culture and personality. What light does the Tepoztecan material throw on this problem? In attempting to think this through I have arrived at a tentative reformulation of the problem in terms of some conceptual distinctions which are presented in the following pages.

Whether or not the study of culture throws light upon personality depends in large measure on how we define the terms culture and personality. If the approach to culture is that of the older anthropology which emphasized descriptions of external forms and customs, then one might expect little relationship between culture and personality. People having different forms of dress, speaking different languages, and having different religions may still have many similarities in personality. But if the core of the culture concept is seen as the attitudes and value systems and their manifestation in inter-personal relations, then there is a very close relationship between culture and personality.

A definition of personality presents greater difficulties. Despite the extensive